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put to death by Artaxerxes. With these circumstances the tenor of the inscription of Sidon coincides in two important particulars. In the first place, several lines of this inscription are occupied with an enumeration of buildings erected, and such buildings as could not well have been wanting except in consequence of some casualty. These public works evidently constituted a leading feature of the reign of Eshmun'iyed II. But Sidon was rebuilt after its destruction in the time of Artaxerxes, and before Alexander's conquest of Phœnicia; for the latter, about B. C. 320, found a king reigning there, supported by Darius, and took the city (see Arrian, *Exped. Alex.* ii. 15, 6; Q. Curtius, *De Rebus Gestis Alex.* iv. 1, 15 ff.). In the next place, the mother of Eshmun'iyed II. is spoken of in the inscription as a reigning queen, for it appears that the architectural works commemorated were executed under her and her son's joint direction; which implies that her husband was no longer living. These coincidences render it quite probable that the father of Eshmun'iyed II., called Tabnith in the inscription, was no other than the Tennes of Diodorus. Another consideration, showing the inscription to be not later than Alexander's conquest of Phœnicia, is its frequent reference to a confederacy of Phœnician kingdoms, which can scarcely have existed after Alexander's system of administration over conquered countries had been established there.

The question remains, from what era is the inscription dated. In view of the circumstances which have been alluded to, it seems most probable that the era of this inscription is the re-building of Sidon between B. C. 350 and 320; and, as it is dated in the year 14, it may be set down as very near the truth, that it belongs to the latter half of the generation intervening between the destruction of Sidon in the time of Artaxerxes and its surrender to Alexander.

We now give place to an independent interpretation by our highly esteemed co-laborer Mr. Turner.

E. E. S.

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## VII. THE SIDON INSCRIPTION, WITH A TRANSLATION AND NOTES. By WILLIAM W. TURNER.

THIS document is provocative of many remarks palæographical, philological, historical, and mythological, with which scholars will doubtless favor the world in due time. I however shall confine myself almost wholly to contributing my mite towards the reading and interpretation of the inscription itself, though taking occasion to add such observations on the topics connected with it as shall spontaneously suggest themselves.

1 בִּירַח בַּל בַּשָּׁנָה עֶסֶר וָאַרְבַּע — וְלִמְלֹכִי מֶלֶךְ אֲשֶׁמְנַעִיר מֶלֶךְ צִדְנָם  
2 בֶּן מֶלֶךְ תִּבְנַת מֶלֶךְ צִדְנָם דְּבַר מֶלֶךְ אֲשֶׁמְנַעִיר מֶלֶךְ צִדְנָם לְאַמֵּר נְגִילָה  
3 בַּלְעִתִּי בֶן מֶסֶךְ יָם מֵאִיד מִיתִמְכַּנְנָאֵל מֵת וְשָׁכַב אֵנֶךְ בַּחֲלָתִי וּבִקְבֻרִי  
4 בַּמָּקָם אֲשֶׁר בְּנַת קִנְמִי אֵת כָּל מַמְלַכְתָּהּ וְכָל אָדָם אֶל יִפְתָּח אֵת מִשְׁכְּבִי ו  
5 אֶל יִבְקֶשׁ בֶּן מִנָּם כְּאִישׁ בֶּן מִנָּם וְאֶל יִשָּׂא אֵת חֲלָת מִשְׁכְּבִי וְאֶל יַעֲמ  
6 ס נֹב מִשְׁכְּבִי עַלֹת מִשְׁכְּב שְׁנֵי אָפָּ אִם אָדָמָם יִדְבָּרְנֶךָ אֶל תִּשְׁמַע בְּרִנְמֶךָ כָּל מַמְלַכְתָּהּ ו  
7 כָּל אָדָם אֲשֶׁר יִפְתָּח עַלֹת מִשְׁכְּבִי אִם אֲשֶׁר יִשָּׂא אֵת חֲלָת מִשְׁכְּבִי אִם אֲשֶׁר יַעֲמָם נֹב מ  
8 שְׁכָבִי אֶל יִכֶּן לָם מִשְׁכָּב אֵת רִפְּאָם וְאֶל יִקְבֹּר בִּקְבֹּר וְאֶל יִכֶּן לָם לֶבֶן וִירֵעַ  
9 תִּחְתָּמָם וְיִסְרְדָנָם הָאֵלֹנִם הַקֹּדְשִׁים אֵת מַמְלַכָּהּ בְּרֹאשׁ מִשְׁלָהּ בְּנִמְלָה ק  
10 צִתָּנָם אֵת מַמְלַכְתָּהּ אִם אָדָם הִיא אֲשֶׁר יִפְתָּח עַלֹת מִשְׁכְּבִי אִם אֲשֶׁר יִשָּׂא אֵת  
11 חֲלָתִי נֹאִית יָדַע מַמְלַתָּהּ הִיא אִם אָדָם מֵהַמֹּת אֶל יִכֶּן לָם שֶׁב שְׁלָם מִו

ב דן מעלות אד כהים תחת שמש כאנך נדון נגילות בלעתי בן מס  
 ד ים מאזד מיתמכנאל מת אנך [המלך] אנך אשמנעיר מלך צדנם בן  
 מלך תבנת מלך צדנם בן בן מלך אשמנעיר מלך צדנם ואמי אמששתרת  
 כהנת עשתרת רבתן המלכת בת מלך אימנעיר מלך צדנם אם בן אית בת  
 אלנם אית בת דן אדת ים ויש דן איתד שתרת שם מאדרם ואנתן  
 אש בן בת לאמם [א]ד רשען יהלל כהד ויש בני שם מאדרם ואנתן אש בן בתם  
 לאלן צדנם בצדן ארץ ים בת לבעל צדן וכת לעשתרת שם בעל וער יתן לן אדן מלכם  
 אית דאד ויפי ארץ תרגן הארת אש בשב שדן למדת עצמת אש פעלת ויספננם  
 עלת גבל ארץ לכנן כל צדנם לעלם קנמי את כל ממלכת וכל אדם אל יפתח עלתי  
 ואל יערך עלתי ואל יעמס נב משכבי ואל ישא אית חלת משכבי לם יסגדנם  
 אלנם הקדשם אל ויקצנה ממלכת הא והאדם מהמת כירעם לעלם

## TRANSLATION.

1. In the month Bul, in the year fourteen, the 13th anniversary of the king, King Ashmunyyer, king of the Sidonians,
2. son of King Tabnith, king of the Sidonians, spake King Ashmunyyer, king of the Sidonians, saying :
3. I, son of the molten sea-god, have received a wound from the hand of Mithumbenel ; I am dead, and am resting in my sepulchre and in my grave,
4. in the place which I built. My curse to every kingdom and to every man : Let him not open my resting-place, and
5. let not a son of liars seek that I destroy a son of liars, and let him not remove the sepulchre of my resting-place, and let him not take
6. the fruit of my resting-place [or] the cover of the resting-place where I sleep. Yea, if men speak to thee, hearken not to thine enticer. Any kingdom or
7. any man who shall open the cover of my resting-place, or who shall remove the sepulchre of my resting-place, or who shall take the fruit of my
8. resting-place, let them not have a resting-place with the shades, and let him not be buried in a grave, and let them not have a child, and let it go ill
9. because of them, and let the holy gods terrify them, even the kingdom with the ruling prince ; wholly cutting
10. them off, even the kingdom or that man who shall open the cover of my resting-place, or who shall remove
11. my sepulchre. Neith shall know of that matter. Yea, a man that slayeth they shall have no dwelling in peace. Good is
12. the judgment from on high ! Behold in life, as I was resting beneath the sun, I, son of the molten sea-god, received a wound
13. from the hand of Mithumbenel ; I, the king, am dead. I Ashmunyyer, king of the Sidonians, son
14. of King Tabnith, king of the Sidonians, grandson of King Ashmunyyer, king of the Sidonians, and my mother Emashtoreth,
15. priestess of Ashtoreth, our lady the queen, daughter of King Imanyyer, king of the Sidonians, behold we built the temple
16. of the gods, the temple of justice, by the sea—and justice is the support of the stars ! There shall they be worshipped ; and we
17. who have built a temple for the peoples, behold our guilt shall be diminished thereby, and there shall my children worship. And we who have built temples
18. to the god of the Sidonians, in Sidon, the land of the sea, a temple to Baal-Sidon, and a temple to Ashtoreth the glory of Baal, to us Lord Milcom giveth a city

19. the desire and beauty of the earth, our glorious delight, which is in the dwelling of our deity, to stretch out the fortresses which I have made; and they have been constructed
20. on the border of the land, to strengthen all the Sidonians for ever. My curse to every kingdom and to every man: Let him not open my cover,
21. and not remove my cover, and let him not take the fruit of my resting-place, and not remove the sepulchre of my resting-place. As for them, those
22. holy gods shall humble them; and they shall cut off that kingdom and the man that slayeth, that it may be ill with them for ever.

## NOTES.

Line 1.

בל בִּרְחָה *in the month Bul*. What this means is shown in 1 Kings 6, 38, where it is said, בִּרְחָה בּוֹל הָיָה הַחֹדֶשׁ הַשְּׁמִינִי *in the month Bul, that is, the eighth month*. The occurrence of the term *Bul* in this place seems a sufficient refutation of the idea that this and some other ancient names applied to months in the Bible were rather appellatives than ordinary names.

עסר is the Aramaic form for the Heb. עָשָׂר.

Λ ∩ ∩. The curved longitudinal stroke signifies 10, and the perpendicular strokes are units (Gesen. Monn. Phœn. p. 85, sqq.) There are two coins published by Swinton (Philos. Trans. Vol. 4, Pl. 31), but omitted by Gesenius, which bear the dates ∩ ∩ ∩ ∩ ∩ ∩ ∩ ∩ ∩ ∩ (year cxxvi) and ∩ ∩ ∩ ∩ ∩ ∩ ∩ ∩ ∩ ∩ (year cxxviii).

Under both of them occurs the character Λ (whose alphabetical value is that of ג), of which Swinton offers no explanation. Perhaps it may be a contraction for גל = Heb. גִּיל *circle, cycle, age*, but employed in the sense of annual revolution, *year*. In that case we may read ∩ ∩ ∩ ∩ ∩ ∩ ∩ ∩ ∩ ∩ the 13th anniversary, or *year, of my king or the king*. For this use of the pronoun, comp. the Heb. אֲדֹנִי, Syr. סֵיֻר, Fr. *monsieur*.

אשמונער *Ashmunyyer*. On No. 17 of the inscriptions found by Pococke at Citium is the name א מ ז ס ז ש א , which Gesenius reads אֲשֶׁמֶן-עֵיִר *Eshmun'yeyed (quem Aesculapius restituit)* (Monn. Phœn. p. 145). He remarks, however, that it might also be read אֲשֶׁמֶן-עֵיִר *Eshmun'yyer (quem Aesculapius suscitavit)*, which likewise yields a good sense; and this latter reading is adopted by Movers, who remarks that the

name is also found in another inscription of Citium since discovered by the Grecian archæologist L. Ross (*Art. Phœnizier*, in Ersch u. Gruber's *Encyclop.* p. 424). In the Sidon inscription the forms of ד and ר are so confounded that, although the name occurs in it no less than four times (lines 1, 2, 13, 14), the proper reading cannot be determined from it. Supposing that the inscription of Ross (which I have not been able to see) is sufficiently clear to settle the question, I have followed the reading of Movers. The name אשמון 'Εσμουῶν, the Phœnician Æsculapius (*Ges. Monn. Phœn.*, p. 136), occurs a number of times alone and in composition on inscriptions of Citium, Carthage, Athens, and Marseilles (*Ges. l. c.* p. 347, Movers *l. c.* p. 396); but this is the first time it has been found in Phœnicia proper.

מלך אשמנער *King Ashmunyyer*. In the titles מלך אשמנער, מלך הבנת, מלך אימנער, מלך, the appellative מלך *king* is placed before the name of the sovereign, in accordance with the best Hebrew usage; but it has not as in Hebrew the article.

#### Line 2.

חבנת. Perhaps i. q. Heb. תבנית *form, image*, and hence to be read *Tabnith*.

נגילת *a thrust, wound*, from נגל (whence Heb. מַגֵּל *a sickle*) = Arab. نَجَلَ *to pierce*. This and the following words appear again in lines 12, 13.

#### Line 3.

בלעתי I suppose to be employed, like the Pers. خوردن, which also means literally *to swallow*, in the sense of *to receive, to suffer*, as عذاب خوردن *to suffer torment*, غم خوردن *to be afflicted*; so that נגילת בלעתי will mean *I received (or had inflicted upon me) a wound*. It is difficult to reconcile this form of the 1st pers. pret. with the Aramæan form בנת (line 4), פעלת (l. 19), unless we suppose it to be emphatic.

מכדים I at first proposed to read either מַכְבִּים *shelterers, protectors* (Hiph. part. of כָּבַה), or perhaps better מְכַבִּים *anointed ones* (Hoph. part. of נָכַה), in the sense of the passive of Kal, as in Ps. 2, 6. So that the phrase בן מַכְבִּים would signify *the offspring or descendant of crowned heads or princes*. Both these readings are however untenable, as they suppose an anomaly in the orthography of the plural termination, which elsewhere throughout the inscription is written, in the Phœnician manner, defectively. The reading adopted assumes מכך to be i. q. the Heb. מִסִּכָּה, and to mean *a molten idol, a brazen god*; and this may be either Baal (see 2 Chron. 28, 2) or Molech (see Ges.

Lex. art. מֶלֶךְ). The king may be supposed to call himself the son of his deity, either as his worshipper or as claiming descent from him in the style of Oriental sovereigns. As a counterpart to the expression *idol* or *god of the sea*, *sea-god*, to denote the god of a people bordering on the sea, we have the term אֲרִיז ים *land of the sea*, applied (l. 18) to the Sidonian territory.

At the beginning of line 13 in the lithograph is a mark which resembles ל. If it were this letter, it would indicate that here probably are two nouns in the relation to each other of possessor and possessed, which relation in the former instance is indicated by their juxtaposition and in the latter by the prep. ל. But this does not appear to be the case; for the character differs in form from the other Lameds, and likewise projects somewhat beyond the margin of the inscription, so that we are justified in concluding that it is not a letter at all, but a mere scratch or flaw in the marble. This conclusion is confirmed by the MS. copy of the inscription received from Dr. DeForest, which presents no trace of the character in question.

מֵאִיר. Here אִיר is supposed to be the word יֵר written with א prosthetic, like Syr. *أير* *hand*.

מִיתֻמְבָּנָל. Perhaps the first part of the word is that of the Plautinian name *Muthumballes*, which, however, Gesenius reads מְתֻמְבָּעַל, and Quatremère מִתְּנָ בַּעַל. May not its etymology be מִי־תֵתֶן-בְּנֵי־אֵל?

וַיִּשְׁכֶּב act. part. Kal. In the same sense Is. 14, 18: *all the kings of the nations בְּכִבּוֹד אִישׁ בְּבֵיתוֹ וַיִּשְׁכְּבוּ lie in glory each in his own house*. Comp. too the oft recurring phrase וַיִּשְׁכֶּב עִם אֲבוֹתָיו *and he slept with his fathers*. Gesenius remarks (Mönn. Phœn. p. 438), that the act. part. is always written defectively in Phœnician. It should be observed, however, that both here and in the plural termination the Phœn. vowel may be *a*, in which case no mater lectionis is required.

בַּחֲלָתִי *in my sepulchre*. The connexions in which the word חֲלָת occurs besides the present instance (lines 5, 7, 11, 21) show clearly that it signifies a *coffin* or *sarcophagus*. Accordingly we may regard it as meaning literally a *hollow vessel*, and compare Arab. خلية *a bee-hive, a ship*; مَخْلَاة *a horse's nose-bag, a saddle-bag, wallet*; from خلى *to be empty*. Or we may suppose it to mean literally a *polished vessel*, from the root חלה *to polish*; which last is singularly suitable to the description of the sarcophagus by the correspondent of the New York Journal of Commerce, who says: "The lid is a fine blue-black marble, intensely hard, and taking a *very fine polish*."



## Line 4.

**בנה** *I built*. Whether this is to be considered as written defectively and pronounced *banti*, or whether it is to be read in the Aramaean manner *beneth*, it is not easy to say. The former opinion would seem the most probable from the fact that the verb **בלעתי** above (if correctly interpreted) follows the Hebrew usage, as does also the verb *siccarthi* or *sicorathi* of Plautus, were it not that the omission of a sign for *i* at the end of a word is an anomaly unknown to the Shemitish languages.

**קנמִי** *my prohibition* or *my curse*. Buxtorf (Lex. Chald.) explains the Talmudical word **קִנְיָם** as a vow of prohibition, and **קִנְיָמִי** as *juramenta, vota cum execrationibus*. True, he says **קִנְיָם** is corrupted from **קרבן**, and if so, it could hardly be a Phœnician word; but it is difficult to see how this can be the case, as **קרבן** has a very different meaning.

**ממלכת** *kingdom*. The word also occurs in this form in lines 6, 10, 20, 22, and only once (l. 9) in the form **ממלכא**; and this agrees with the conclusions arrived at by Gesenius and Movers, who state that the fem. of Phœnician nouns is formed by far the most frequently in **ת**, seldomer in **א**, and never in **ה**. Why the form **ממלכא** should be used in line 9 I cannot say. **ממלכת** is probably the true reading on the coins of the two Jubas (Gesen. Monn. Phœn. Pl. 42).

**אל יפתח** *let him not open*. The negative particle **אל**, corresponding to the Greek  $\mu\eta$  and Lat. *ne*, is found in Phœnician for the first time in this inscription, where it occurs repeatedly. **בל** is used in the same sense in line 15 of the Marseilles inscription.

**אית** sign of the accusative, i. q. Heb. **את**. This form favors Hupfeld's opinion that **את** is from the Aram. **אֵית**, i. q. **יֵשׁ**. It agrees too with the Plautinian pronunciation *yth*.

**משכבי** *my resting-place*. **משכב** is used in the sense of *bier, coffin*, in Is. 57, 2. 2 Chron. 16, 14. and in the Oxford inscription (Ges. Monn. Phœn. p. 130).

## Line 5.

**אל יבקש בנמנמכאישמבנמנמ**. It is evident that this, however we may read it, must make a complete sense. The following is proposed: **אל יבקש בן-מנמ בן-אישמ בן-מנמ** *let not a son of liars seek that I destroy a son of liars*. Here **מנ** is considered as the act. part. of **מנן** and i. q. Arab. **مان**. The opprobrious term **בן מנמ** applied to whomsoever shall violate the defunct's tomb is thus opposed to the honorable one of **בן מכר ים** assumed by himself. The threatened destruction will be through the curses which follow.

ואל יעמס נב משכבי *and let him not take the fruit of my resting-place*, i. e. my body contained within it. The verb occurs also in the Marseilles inscription (l. 13), in the phrase (as read by Movers) *אש יעמס פנת אלם* *which one brings before the gods*. It seems that the verb *עמס*, like *נשא*, means primarily *to lift or take up*, and then *to take, to bring*. נב i. q. Heb. נִב (נוב) Is. 57, 19 in Cheth.), which is used in a similar figurative manner in Mal. 1, 12, where the food on the Lord's table is called *its fruit*.

## Line 6.

עלת. We may derive it from the Aram. *עלל* *to enter*, and consider it to mean *an entrance, opening, door*; or from Heb. *עלה* *to go up, to ascend*, when it will signify the *upper part, top, lid*. Either of these meanings will suit the context, as in each of the subsequent instances where it occurs it forms the complement of the verb *פתח* *to open*. On account of the close connexion of the two languages it appears safer to adopt a Hebrew etymology when one offers.

שני *my sleep*, from *ישן*, which is repeatedly used in Scripture of the sleep of death. Hence the phrase *משכב שני* *the resting-place where I sleep* (lit. *my resting-place of sleep*) is closely analogous to the *משכב נהתי* *my quiet resting-place* of the Oxford inscription (Ges. Monn. Phœn. p. 130).

אדמם *men*. To avoid assuming a plural form of this noun, which is unknown in Hebrew, I at first read *אם אדם מי דבר נך* *if any man should say, Strike!* i. e. break open the tomb; but the objections to this are still greater.

אף אם אדמם ידברנך *yea, if men speak to thee*, scil. urging thee to do this. In the verb the final *Nun* of the fut. 3d pers. plur. is retained, as occasionally in Hebrew and regularly in Aramaic; and so in *ויסרדנם* (l. 9), *ויספננם* (l. 19), *יסגדנם* (l. 21), *ויקצנה* (l. 22).

ברנמך. The only illustration that presents itself of this word is the Arab. *رنم* *to sing*, which is applied also to the cooing of doves, the stridulous noise of locusts, the twanging of a bow-string, &c. It may be considered as the act. part. (with prep. and suff.) signifying *he who sings* or *mutters to thee, thine enticer*. This seems forced, but it is the best I can do with it.

## Line 7.

אם *or*; and so in line 10. This use of *אם* is found also in the Marseilles inscription. See Movers, Phœn. Texte, II, 110.

## Line 8.

אל יכן לם *let them not have*. So repeatedly in the Marseilles inscription; comp. especially the phrase *בל יכן לכהנם* *the priests*

*shall not have* (l. 15). The verb כּוֹן is i. q. the Arab. كَان, which means originally *to stand*, and then *to exist, to be*, like Ital. *star* and Span. *estar*. See Movers, Phœn. Texte II, 97; Ewald, Jahrb. der bibl. Wiss. I, 198; and Blau in the Zeitschr. der D. M. G. III, 441.

## Line 9.

הַחֲתָנִם *because of them*, i. q. Heb. תְּהִיָּהֶם or תְּהָתָם. The נ may be considered as the plural termination retained before a suffix as in the verbs, or as the *Nun demonstrative* of the pronoun, the so-called *Nun epenthetic*. Comp. Ewald on the הַבְּרָנִים of the Marseilles inscription, Jahrb. der bibl. Wiss. p. 201.

וַיִּסְרְדָנֶם *and let them terrify them*. סָרַד i. q. Syr. ܣܪܕ to fear; Pah., to terrify.

הָאֱלֹהִים *the gods*. The Phœn. אֵלִין appears to be the Arab. إِلَه ilahon

with the *He* elided. We have here a gratifying confirmation of the genuineness of the Plautinian Punic text, this being clearly the *alonim* of the Pœnulus, on which the scholiast Sisenna remarks, "*alon lingua Punicâ esse deum*;" although nearly all interpreters have agreed in transcribing it עלונים or עליונים i. e. *most high ones, superi*. Comp. *Abdalonimus* (עבד אֵלֹנִים) the name of a king of Sidon under Alexander the Great (Justin xi, 10). This word occurs again in lines 16 and 22, and in the singular in l. 18.

רֹאשׁ מִשָּׁל *a ruling head*, i. e. *chief, prince*; comp. מִשָּׁל אִישׁ, 2 Chron. 7, 18.

בְּנִמַּל *with cutting off, abscission*. Used to give emphasis to the following verb.

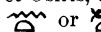


קָצְחֵנֶם *cutting them off* (shall be). Infin. of קָצַח or קָצַץ with נ demonstr. and suff., the verb governing the suffix and the following nouns in the accusative. I at first assumed here a root קָצַח, and supposed the pret. to be used emphatically for the future.

## Line 10.

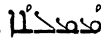
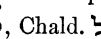
אִישׁ *that man*; and with a fem. noun, מַמְלַת אִישׁ *that thing* (l. 11), מַמְלַכָּה אִישׁ *that kingdom* (l. 22). We have here the primitive demonstrative אִישׁ (see Hupfeld in Zeitschr. f. K. d. Morgenl. II, 147), which Gesenius finds in the fourth line of the Sardinian inscription. Its plural אֵל, which occurs several times in the Pentateuch, appears in the expression אֵלֵהֶם אֱלֹהִים *those holy gods* (l. 22).

## Line 11.

**הלתי**. So in the MS. copy of the inscription. The lithograph edition has **הנתי**.

**נאיה**. If it be correct to read this as a proper name, it is probably that of the goddess *Neith* (*Nyit*), the Egyptian Athene worshipped at Saïs. (See Plat. Tim., quoted by Parthey in his Vocab. Copt. p. 567, and Plut. Isis et Osiris, cap. 9). The Egyptian orthography of the name was  or  or , i. e. NeT (Is. et Osir., Parthey's edit., p. 176). Gesenius thinks that he finds the name in certain Athenian and Carthaginian inscriptions under the form *Tanith* or *ta-Neith*, the first letter being the article, and that consequently *Nyit*, *Tavaitis*, and *Avaitis* are but different forms of the same name (see Monn. Phœn. pp. 115–118, 171, 172); but this is left for others to decide.

**ידע**. Whether we regard this as a pret., fut., or part., it is of the masc. form; so that the gender of the preceding noun (supposing it to be feminine) is neglected. Comp. Ges. Monn. Phœn. p. 216, and Blau in Ztschr. der D. M. G. p. 442.

**ממלת** appears to be i. q. Syr. , Chald. , used like **מָלָה** in the sense of *thing*.

**מהמת** *that slayeth*, part. Hiph. of **מות** *to die*, with the preformative **ה** retained. Judas considers that he has found this form of the Hiphil in the fut. **יהערה** (Étude Démonstr. p. 135). The word **מהמת** occurs also with **הארם** in line 22. This phrase **הארם מהמת** occurs in line 17 of the Marseilles inscription, which unfortunately is a broken one, so that the sense is left doubtful. Various explanations of the word **מהמת** are proposed by Moivers and Ewald; but neither of them would suit the context of our inscription.

**לם** *to them*. The change from the singular to the plural and vice versa in propositions of a general nature, where the subject is indeterminate and may be regarded at the will of the writer as consisting of one or many, is so common in Hebrew that we feel no surprise at meeting with it here.

**שב** *dwelling*. Supposed to be formed by apocope from **ישב**.

**טוב דן מעלות** *good is the judgment from on high*, i. e. from the places above, the sky, heaven, **עליות** being a fem. used as a neuter. The allusion is to the punishments decreed and executed by Heaven against the wicked for their misdeeds. We might also read **אר מעלות** *from above the sky*, taking **אר** as i. q. Heb. **אר** *vapor*, and hence *cloud, sky*; like Heb. **שחק**, *dust, cloud*, and then *sky, heaven*, as in Ps. 89, 7. 38. It must be remarked however that the MS. copy of the inscription, which in general appears to be the most entitled to confidence, has **דל** instead of **דן**.

## Line 12.

אֲרֹ *behold*, like Arab. اَرَّ. The same word seems to have stood in line 17, although the א has disappeared.  
 בחים *in life*, or *among the living*, an expression found in several inscriptions of Athens and Citium (see Ges. Monn. Phœn. p. 349 b).  
 נהך *as I was resting* (sleeping?). נהך act. part. of נָח with suff. 1 pers. sing. in the Aramæan manner (Hoffm. Gr. Syr. p. 177), which is also used in the Syriac with a preceding pronoun (Hoffm. p. 345).

## Line 14.

אִמְשֹתֶרֶת *Emashtoreth* (i. e. mother of Astarte). In line 3 of the Oxford inscription we have also the name of a woman אִמְתַּשְׁתֶּרֶת *Amatashtoreth* (handmaid of Astarte).

## Line 15.

כַּהֲנָה *priestess*. The masc. כַּהֵן *priest* and כַּהֲנִים *priests* occur repeatedly in the Marseilles inscription. Movers shows (Die Phœnizier, III, 512 sq. 547 sq.) that Astarte was the highest national goddess of the Sidonians, and especially of their ruling race: so that the high priest of the goddess was *the* high priest of the land, and the office was the prerogative of the metropolis and was filled by the nearest relative of the king.  
 רַבָּתָן *our lady*. The term רַבָּת is found repeatedly in inscriptions applied both to deities and to mortals. See Blau in Ztschr. der D. M. G. III, 434.

## Line 16.

בֵּית דִּן *temple of justice*. It would appear that among the Phœnicians the temple of worship was used also as a hall of justice, as among the Hebrews, whose בֵּית דִּין הַגָּדוֹל or *great court of justice* was held in the temple at Jerusalem.  
 אֲדָתָא. Supposed to be i. q. Heb. אֲדָוָה, and to mean *around, about, by*. I at first read בֵּית דִּן אֲדָתָא *a temple of justice, a temple of the sea*, i. e. by the sea.  
 אִיתָד. Supposed to be i. q. Heb. יָתֵד *peg*, and then used figuratively, as in Heb. and Arab., in the sense of *support*. See Rosenmüller on Zech. 10, 4, where it stands parallel with פִּנֵּה *corner-stone*. As for the א prosth., comp. אִיר (l. 3, 13) i. q. Heb. יָר.  
 שֹׁתָרָא *stars*. We may suppose this word to be chosen by way of allusion to the meaning of the name עֲשֹׁתָרָא.  
 מְאֲדָרָם *magnified, honored, worshipped*; part. Pual of אָדָר. The Piel part. occurs in the following line.

ראנהו. Here we are presented for the first time with the *Phœn.* pron. of the 1st pers. plur., which agrees in its termination with the frequently occurring suffix נ. It is used in the nominative absolute both here and in the following line.

Line 17.

בַּת לְאָמִים *a temple of the peoples*. לְאָמִים plur. of לָאָם, in Hebrew a poetical term. The meaning seems to be that this is a temple to which the nations should come to worship (comp. 1 Kings 8, 41–43). Blau thinks that he has found this same noun in the third line of the Eryx inscription in a contracted form in the word לְלִמָּה *to her people* (Ztschr. der D. M. G. III, 441).

יִדְלֵל. From יָדַל *to be thin, slight, small*; like Syr. ܝܕܠܐ.

בְּהֵרָה *thereby*. הֵרָה is here taken to be i. q. Chald. הֵרָא, Heb. הֵרָה. Buxtorf shows (Lex. Chald. col. 489) that הֵרָא corresponds in the Targum to the Heb. זָאָר, which is used absolutely without reference to any particular noun. The meaning will then be that those who worship in this temple shall in consequence receive pardon for their sins. Comp. 1 Kings 8, 30–53.

Line 18.

אֶרֶץ יָם *the land of the sea*, i. e. lying on the sea-coast.

בַּעַל צִיד *lit. the Lord of Sidon*; like בַּעַל צֶר *the Lord of Tyre*, in the first Maltese inscription.

בַּת לְעִשְׁתֹּרֶת *a temple to Ashtoreth*. According to Movers (Die Phœnizier I, 602, 605) a large temple of Astarte in Sidon is spoken of both by Achilles Tatius and by Lucian.

שֵׁם בַּעַל *the glory* (lit. *name, renown*) *of Baal*. Baal is the sun, or king of the heavens, and Astarte the moon, or queen of the heavens; hence it appears she is called his *glory*, his bright and beautiful counterpart.

אֶדֶן בַּעַל חַמָּן *Lord Milcom*. So אֶדֶן בַּעַל חַמָּן *Lord Baal Hamman*, Numid. inscr. 1–3. *Milcom*, or *Moloch*, in his character of the Phœnician Mars, is here said to have given the Sidonians their city; meaning that they had obtained it originally, or (which is more probable) that they had recently regained it, from other possessors by force of arms.

Line 19.

דָּוָר *desire*, i. q. Heb. דָּוָר. If the context would permit, we might read דָּאָר (in the O. Test. also written דָּוָר) *Dora*, the southernmost town of the Phœnicians; and so we might find in this and the following line the names מָרַת *Marathus* and גִּבַּל *Gebal*.

רֵיפִי אֶרֶץ *and beauty of the earth*. So the Tyrians applied to their city the appellation בְּלִילַת יָפִי *perfect in beauty, or perfectly beautiful*, Ezek. 27, 3; comp. 27, 4. 11. 28, 12. 17.

**הָרֶגֶן הָאֹדֶרֶת** *our glorious delight*. We regard **הָרֶגֶן** as an abstract noun formed, by prefixing **ה**, from the Aramaic root **רִגַּג**, and corresponding to the Heb. **הֲמֵדָה** lit. *desire, delight*; comp. the phrase **אֶרֶץ הֲמֵדָה**. Michaelis quotes the phrase **חֲנִינָא נִיבְלָא סוֹפְלָא** *pulchra et splendida ædificia* (Lex. Syr. p. 847). If the context permitted, we might translate *Tarragon the great*.

**שָׂדֵן אֵשׁ בִּשְׁבַּי** *which is in the dwelling of our deity*, i. e. which is situated in the land of Phœnicia, the peculiar dwelling-place of the national god **בְּלִיָּל** or **מְלִכָּם**. The MS. copy has **בִּשְׁר** or **בִּשְׂר**. **לְמֵדָה עֲצֻמָּת** *to stretch out (or stretching out) the fortresses*, i. e. enabling us to erect the long line of fortifications.

**אֵשׁ פִּעֲלָה** *which I have made*, i. e. reared, constructed. So the MS. copy. The form of the third letter in the lithograph edition would allow us to read **אֵשׁ בַּעֲלָה** *of which thou art Lord*; but the sense is not so good.

**וִיסְפִנְנִם** *and they have constructed them*, the plur. used impersonally, i. q. *they have been constructed*. **כִּפָּן** *to cover with boards*, and hence *to build, construct*.

## Line 20.

**עַלְתָּ** *on, upon*. Either a fem. sing. or plur. abstract noun, lit. *top*, used as a preposition. See on **מַעֲלֹת** l. 12.

**גְּבוּל** *border, boundary*, Heb. **גְּבוּל**.

**לִכְנֹן** *to set firm, establish, strengthen*, Polel infin. of **כָּנַן**. The deceased king claims not only to have assisted in erecting temples to secure to his people the favor of their gods, but also to have constructed fortresses to defend them against the assaults of their human enemies.

## Line 21.

**וְאַל יֵעַר** *and let him not remove*. **יֵעַר** fut. apoc. Hiph. of **עָרָה**.

**לָם** *as for them*, used absolutely. See Ges. Lex. under **ל** 14. c.

**יִסְגְּדֻנֶם** *shall humble them*; taking the verb as the Piel or Hiphil of **סָגַד** *to fall down, to prostrate oneself*. Comp. **הִשְׁתַּחֲוָה**. I at first read **יִסְרְדֻנֶם**, as in line 9, supposing that the copyist had omitted a portion of the third letter, which made it resemble a **ג**; but as the reading of the MS. copy supports that of the lithograph, it is safer to yield to their joint authority.

## Line 22.

**וְיִקְצְנָה מַמְלַכְתָּהּ** *and they shall cut it off, that kingdom*. This pleonastic use of the pronominal suffix before the noun forming the object of a verb is found in Hebrew (Nord. Heb. Gram. II, 109).

## CONCLUSION.

The reader who has perused the foregoing attempt at explaining the inscription will scarcely need to be reminded that in it some things are certain, others doubtful, and others little better than guesses. Error and imperfection are the usual fate of first essays of the sort; but a beginning must be made, and it will be comparatively easy for minds coming fresh to the subject and applied directly to the doubtful passages to make a nearer approximation to the truth.

Dr. Movers (Art. *Phönizien* in Ersch. u. Gruber's Encyclopædie, p. 425) divides Phœnician inscriptions, as respects the forms of their letters, their language, and their age, into two classes. The older, to which belong those of Marseilles, Carthage, Citium, Malta, Athens, and most of the coins of Phœnicia and the neighboring regions to the north, exhibit the old Phœnician type of letters, a regular orthography, and a language still free from foreign influences and later degeneracies. These advantages, especially the graphic ones, are found in their greatest completeness in the inscription of Marseilles, which is demonstrably the oldest, belonging to the first half of the 4th century B. C., while the monuments of northern Phœnicia and Cilicia belong to the latter half of this century. The second class of monuments proceed from times and regions where the culture and the language of the Phœnicians were considerably affected by foreign elements: these are the so-called Numidian inscriptions, and also those found in Sardinia and in other Liby-Phœnician countries, together with the Punic coins, which belong to the Liby-Phœnician cities on the coast of Africa, to the islands of Cossura and Ivica, and to several Turditanian cities. In this latter class both the form of the letters and the orthography are equally degenerate. There is hardly one of these numerous inscriptions that does not present doubtful characters, and the guttural and vowel letters are confounded in them in a manner without parallel in the Shemitish languages.

It is to the former class, as was to be expected, that our inscription belongs. Its interest is greater both on this account and as being the first inscription properly so-called that has yet been found in Phœnicia proper, which had previously furnished only some coins and an inscribed gem. It is also the longest inscription hitherto discovered, that of Marseilles—which approaches it the nearest in the form of its characters, the purity of its language, and its extent—consisting of but 21 lines and fragments of lines.

The corrupt orthography and style of many of the inscriptions found in Africa and elsewhere which first attracted the attention of scholars, together with the inaccurate manner in which they were copied, and which enhanced the difficulty of reading them correctly,



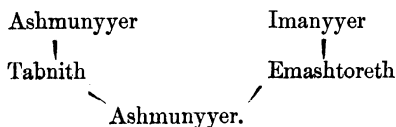
naturally caused the Phœnician language to be regarded as differing much more widely from the Hebrew than it does in reality ; but the inscription before us confirms the opinion held since the discovery of that of Marseilles, that the Phœnician language in its purity, besides a slight tinge of Aramaism, differs but little from the Biblical Hebrew. This is a gratifying discovery for two reasons : first, because it facilitates the correct reading and interpretation of the inscriptions themselves, and secondly because each document in it that is brought to light will prove a direct contribution towards elucidating the language of the Hebrew Scriptures.

The forms of the letters in the Sidon inscription and that of Marseilles are very similar, the principal difference being that, as a general rule, the characters of the former have a slightly more rounded and consequently less antique contour. The *ʿAin*, however, of the former is always a complete circle ; whereas in the latter it has the modern characteristic of an opening at the top. In the Sidon inscription the *Yod* runs through many different forms, from the oldest to the most recent ; and the forms of י and ך, to which is sometimes to be added ם (which in that of Marseilles are accurately distinguished) are utterly confounded together, so that there is no distinction that holds between them, either in the form of the head, the degree of inclination from the perpendicular, or the length of the stem. Our copies of it are certainly much better executed than those of the generality of the inscriptions we possess ; yet under the circumstances nothing but a plaster cast or other fac-simile can be regarded as a satisfactory basis for a final interpretation of the monument.

The orthography of this as of other Phœnician inscriptions is characterized by a more systematic omission of the *matres lectionis* than is found even in the oldest Hebrew writings.

As for the language of the inscription it bears marks of antiquity which are obsolescent in the Biblical Hebrew : such as the use in plain prose of primitive words which in Hebrew are found not at all or only as poetical archaisms ; the retention of the fem. affirmative ך, of the י of the plural of verbs, and perhaps of the ך preformative of the Hiphil ; the non-employment of the definite article in repeated instances where it would be used in Hebrew, &c.

As a contribution to Phœnician history we have the names of the defunct ruler and his ancestors to the third degree both on the paternal and maternal side, thus :



Not only the father and paternal grandfather of the deceased king are said to have been *kings of Sidon*, but also his maternal grandfather. What was the order of succession between them, or indeed where they are to be placed at all, we have not the means of deciding; but the ancient form of the characters and the purity of the language of the inscription (as far as it can be made out with certainty), with the fact that Sidon appears to have been ruled by native independent sovereigns (though their independence may be questioned), induce us to place it before the conquest of Alexander, namely as early as the middle of the 4th century B. C.

It however by no means follows that because we are now without the means of answering these questions definitively, we shall always remain so. The fondness of the Phœnicians for commemorating in this durable manner public and private events, the fact that no systematic exploration of the sites of towns in Phœnicia and most of her colonies has ever been undertaken, the extensive ruins that are known to exist (above all those of Tyre herself), and the number of educated men now in northern Africa and the Levant, lead naturally to the hope and expectation that many more extensive and more interesting monuments of this people will ere long be discovered than have yet been brought to light.



#### VIII. EXTRACTS FROM CORRESPONDENCE.

##### 1. *From a Letter from Rev. D. T. Stoddard, of Orûmiah.*

Seir, Oroomiah, Jan. 16, 1854.

Since writing you, I have made a pretty thorough examination of the Jews' language, as spoken in this vicinity, and have now the materials for drawing up a paper on that subject. When you see Dr. Robinson, will you be good enough to consult with him as to the question whether it is worth while to give the details of that language, or only a few outlines of the grammar.

When I shall get time to attend to the subject again is quite uncertain. Our missionary labors demand most of our strength and thoughts.